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ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SIXTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 16 November 1992, at 10 a.m.

President:	Mr. ERDOS	(Hungary)
Members:	Austria	Mr. HOHENFELLNER
	Belgium	Mr. NOTERDAEME
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. LI Daoyu
	Ecuador	Mr. AYALA LASSO
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	India	Mr. SREENIVASAN
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. SNOUSSI
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. PERKINS
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA
	Zimbabwe	Mr. MUMBENGEGWI

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The meeting was called to order at 10.40 a.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

LETTER DATED 5 OCTOBER 1992 FROM THE REPRESENTATIVES OF EGYPT, THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN, PAKISTAN, SAUDI ARABIA, SENEGAL AND TURKEY ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/24620)

LETTER DATED 4 NOVEMBER 1992 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/24761)

LETTER DATED 9 NOVEMBER 1992 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF BELGIUM TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/24785)

LETTER DATED 9 NOVEMBER 1992 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF FRANCE TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/24786)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): In accordance with the decisions taken at previous meetings on the item, I invite the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Afghanistan, Albania, Azerbaijan, Canada, the Comoros, Croatia, Egypt, Germany, Indonesia, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Italy, Jordan, Kuwait, Lithuania, Malaysia, Norway, Pakistan, Qatar, Romania, Senegal, Slovenia, Tunisia, Turkey and Ukraine to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber; I invite the representative of Palestine to take the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Misić (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Ghafoorzai (Afghanistan), Mr. Shkurti (Albania), Mr. Hassanov (Azerbaijan), Mrs. Fréchette (Canada), Mr. Moumin (Comoros), Mr. Drobnjak (Croatia), Mr. Elaraby (Egypt), Mr. Graf zu Rantzau (Germany), Mr. Wisnumurti (Indonesia), Mr. Kharrazi (Islamic Republic of

Iran), Mr. Traxler (Italy), Mr. Abu Odeh (Jordan), Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait), Mr. Gureckas (Lithuania), Mr. Razali (Malaysia), Mr. Huslid (Norway), Mr. S. M. Khan (Pakistan), Mr. Al-Ni'Mah (Qatar), Mr. Florean (Romania), Mr. Cissé (Senegal), Mr. Türk (Slovenia), Mr. Khouini (Tunisia), Mr. Aksin (Turkey) and Mr. Batiouk (Ukraine) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber; Mr. Al-Kidwa (Palestine) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Greece, Malta and the United Arab Emirates in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Exarchos (Greece), Mr. Camilleri (Malta) and Mr. Samhan (United Arab Emirates) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The Council will now resume its consideration of the item on the agenda.

Members of the Council have before them document S/24808, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Belgium, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to document S/24798, which contains the text of a letter dated 12 November 1992 from the

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Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): First of all, I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the Security Council, a post of great responsibility, for the month of November, and I assure you of the full support of the Russian Federation in your difficult but very important work. I should also like, on behalf of the delegation of the Russian Federation, to thank your predecessor, the Ambassador of France, for the very skilful and precise way in which he conducted our meetings last month.

The Russian Federation feels the gravest alarm over the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which continues despite all the efforts made within the Security Council and elsewhere. We are deeply concerned over reports of the death of thousands of peaceful citizens, flagrant mass violations of human rights, violations of the norms of humanitarian law and, in particular, the continuing reprehensible practice of "ethnic cleansing", which has spread like the plague and afflicted every national group in the population.

The Security Council must adopt firm measures to bring about a cessation of this conflict, which has brought immeasurable suffering to the peaceful population and is a threat to international peace and security. It is intolerable that merely to satisfy the political ambitions of some political leaders, people should be killing each other and devastating the soil of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where diverse ethnic and religious groups have lived in peace and harmony for decades. All the inhabitants of the country who are involved in this conflict must preserve their experience of coexistence and remember that in the future they must continue tc live together side by side

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and must join together in building the future of a new, independent Bosnia and Herzegovina.

All parties to the conflict must understand that there is no alternative to a political settlement of the crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina and that any attempts to bring about a military solution to these problems by force of arms, in particular by establishing so-called ethnically pure States, constitute a crime against their own peoples and against all mankind.

The world community is deeply alarmed at the Yugoslav crisis, particularly at the continuing tragedy of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Security Council has kept this problem at the centre of its daily activities for months and has taken a number of difficult but essential decisions aimed at settling it. Constant efforts are being made within the context of the machinery established by the London conference on the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and we should like to express our profound gratitude to the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee, Mr. Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, and all their colleagues for selflessly and ceaselessly persevering in their work to pave the way for the essential goal of peace in former Yugoslavia. We also value highly the noble efforts made by Mrs. Ogeta, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and the staff of her Office (UNHCR) to alleviate the trials and tribulations of hundreds of thousands of Yugoslav refugees, as well as the efforts of Mr. Mazowiecki, Special Rapporteur of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, to put an end to flagrant violations of the norms of humanitarian law and to save the lives of men, women and children.

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One cannot say that all these efforts have thus far been futile, and we have hope that contacts and negotiations between the parties to the conflict will finally lead to a truly lasting cease-fire and the beginning of a process of political settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina. If that goal is to be reached, however, we must ensure strict and full compliance with all decisions already adopted by the Security Council. Only in that way can the flames of the conflict be extinguished and a peaceful life re-established in the suffering land of former Yugoslavia.

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That is what we see as the essence of the present discussion in the Security Council on the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and on the draft resolution prepared by several members of the Council, including the Russian Federation.

The draft resolution takes as its premise that the cessation of military activities and of the blockade of Sarajevo and other cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the demilitarization and transfer to United Nations control of heavy weapons and the effective implementation of the ban on military flights over the territory of that country would all constitute an important step towards de-escalating the military conflict and improving the situation in the country. Of course, a cease-fire must be accompanied by the withdrawal from the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina of all elements of foreign armed forces and para-military formations, including units of the Croatian army. This is particularly important because of reports of offensive operations carried out by Croatian units in the western areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which could lead to the renewal of large-scale military activities. We also cannot but be concerned about reports of continuing arms deliveries and of the participation in military activities of volunteers from some other countries situated far from the area of conflict.

The present situation requires the adoption of practical measures to intensify the monitoring of compliance with the arms embargo established under Security Council resolutions 713 (1991) and 724 (1991) throughout the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, including Bosnia and Herzegovina, so as to prevent the worsening and spread of military activities and the further loss of life.

Obviously, there must also be compliance with Security Council resolution 757 (1992), which established trade and economic sanctions against the

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Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. As members are all aware, the purpose of those sanctions is to induce Belgrade to put an end to interference by extremist elements in the Bosnian crisis and to help bring about an early settlement. The sanctions are intended specifically to curb those extremists and are not aimed at the people of the country. The proposed draft resolution does not provide for an extension of those sanctions - it does not contain such a reference. It merely removes loopholes for by-passing them - a situation that does occur, as members know - and creates a system for effective monitoring of compliance with the sanctions.

We hope that the Government of Mr. Milan Panic and all those who support it will take the vigorous specific actions necessary for the prompt cessation of the fratricidal conflict and for the effective promotion of national reconciliation and cooperation among the various ethnic groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Progress along that path will undoubtedly lead to an easing and subsequently to the complete lifting of the sanctions. That is our goal, and the sooner it is achieved the better.

We support the efforts made by democratic peace-loving forces in former Yugoslavia, which have been striving to eliminate the reasons that resulted in the imposition of United Nations sanctions and that led to the international isolation of Yugoslavia. We hope that we may soon see the time when the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will take its rightful place in the world community.

A key issue in a political settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina is unquestionably the preparation and adoption by the parties, within the

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framework of the Geneva negotiating machinery in the International Conference, of a constitutional structure for the country. We believe that the draft proposed by the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee for such a structure is a good basis for the prompt achievement of an agreement. We would like to lay special emphasis on the absolute necessity of preserving the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The world community will never accept a policy of fait accompli in a de facto partition of the country, or attempts to change present borders by force.

Quite recently, during his visit to the United Kingdom, President Yeltsin of the Russian Federation spoke with alarm about the danger of national chauvinism elevated to the level of State policy. He observed that this danger is felt both in the countries of Europe and in the new States that have arisen on the ruins of the former Soviet Union. He called for vigilance to prevent a repetition of the errors already committed in the first half of the twentieth century and urged a resolute defence of democratic values.

I wish to express our hope that the Security Council's present discussion of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, like the draft resolution we shall adopt, will help to ensure that the parties to the conflict give serious thought to the responsibility they bear to their peoples, that they think about the peoples' future and that they put an immediate end to the fratricidal warfare and go on to make genuine efforts aimed at achieving a political settlement. We also hope that all other States will, through active and practical deeds, help to bring about a stable peace in the Balkans.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of the Russian Federation for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. AYALA LASSO (Ecuador) (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on chairing the Council for this month, and I assure you of the full cooperation of the delegation of Ecuador in helping the Council's work end with the success that we are sure it will achieve.

We should also like to pay tribute to Ambassador Mérimée of France for the outstanding manner in which he guided the deliberations of the Council last month.

When the Security Council adopted its first resolution on the crisis in Yugoslavia on 25 September 1991, Ecuador stated that its approach to the issue would be aimed fundamentally at promoting a comprehensive, negotiated and peaceful solution to the conflict. It added that any just and lasting solution must be based on the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and in international law. It drew particular attention to the principles of the condemnation of the threat or use of force as a means for settling disputes, of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, of the non-recognition of any change of borders imposed by force and of respect for human rights, including proper recognition of the rights of minorities.

Since that time the international community has witnessed the progressive worsening of the situation in former Yugoslavia. The Security Council has resolutely striven to prevent the deterioration of the situation and has responded energetically and creatively to a crisis that has only continued to worsen. Twenty-two resolutions and numerous presidential statements are evidence of this.

For their part, such regional bodies as the European Communities and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) have devoted attention

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to the crisis. As a result, an ad hoc mechanism - the London Conference, of which the Secretary-General is co-Chairman - has been set up.

I should like to place on record my country's appreciation of the Secretary-General's valuable contributions and his constant concern for a resolution of that brutal and prolonged crisis.

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From resolution 713 (1991) onward, the Security Council has strongly supported the regional efforts to resolve the Yugoslav crisis and has taken steps in fulfilment of its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. This is the context in which we should view the arms embargo, the establishment of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and the successive expansions of UNPROFOR's mandate, the sanctions imposed against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) because of its failure to comply with the resolutions of the Council, the measures designed to keep Sarajevo airport operating and the ban on military flights over the airspace of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Security Council has resolutely sought to contribute to a comprehensive, negotiated political solution to the crisis because it believes, furthermore, that this would be the best and most effective way to put an end to the death, the destruction and the terrible suffering that have been engendered and are continuing to take place in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thus, humanitarian concerns are at the root of all the Council's resolutions, especially those that seek to facilitate the distribution of assistance to innocent populations, that condemn violations of international humanitarian law or that concern the establishment of a Commission to investigate war crimes which will focus on punishing the perpetrators.

The emergence of the unspeakable crime of "ethnic cleansing" has shaken the conscience of the Council members and of the international community as a whole and has led to a quick, world-wide reaction. Heart-rending memories of the darkest era in recent history have been awakened to new life and demand that an end is put to this crime, and to the mass exterminations of innocent people, to the concentration camps and to the forced expulsions, with their

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resulting masses of displaced persons and refugees. The perpetrators of these crimes will not manage to get off scot free.

Despite the dynamic action taken by the Security Council, it must be acknowledged that the crisis in Yugoslavia, and the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina in particular, appear to be getting progressively worse. The Muslim population in Bosnia and Herzegovina is struggling desperately against a powerful enemy who is armed to the teeth and - there is no doubt - can count on not only political encouragement but also material assistance from outside.

The policy of "ethnic cleansing" is continuing to create waves of refugees while the Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina continue to expand their control over territory there. It is becoming increasingly clear that a status quo is being established that aims to be based on faits accomplis.

Many think that the Security Council, a collegiate body, has not taken the decisions it ought. Given the circumstances, the Council has done what it could. However, I think that we need to think very hard about what the international state of affairs actually is at the moment and how we can adapt our Organization to meet the requirements of peace and security in our changing world.

The actions of the United Nations in recent years has earned it unquestionable prestige and collective gratitude. Substantive measures must be taken to avoid reducing or calling into question the effectiveness of our actions. If this were to happen, the credibility of the United Nations would rapidly be eroded and the very survival of world peace would be jeopardized.

This is the international context in which these meetings of the Security Council are taking place. The countries that requested them did so because they were faithfully reflecting the conscience of the community of nations. Leaving to one side the resolution the Council is about to adopt, which

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we all hope will have effects that are positive, rapid and sufficient, the very fact that these meetings are being held - in which we have heard and will continue to hear the voices of a very large group of countries united in condemning aggression, in requesting assistance and cooperation with the victims and in proclaiming the supremacy of the principles of law - is the most serious condemnation and the most eloquent warning that the United Nations can address to the guilty parties.

Now it is not just the Security Council that is speaking out in legitimate exercise of its prerogatives and representing all the States Members of the United Nations. It is the whole international community whose voice has made itself heard in the statements by all those who have participated and are yet to participate in these meetings of the Council which is warning and condemning, and announcing that it is not disposed to allow barbarism to triumph over civilization, force over the rule of law, "ethnic cleansing" over equality between all human beings, or inflamed nationalisms over community feeling.

I should like to highlight the importance of the statements Mr. Cyrus Vance, Lord Owen and Mrs. Sadako Ogata and Mr. Mazowiecki made when we began our work. Their views were, as always, objective and enlightening, their assessments of the situation dispassionate and thorough. I wish to express my Government's gratitude for their invaluable contributions to the cause of peace and to the elimination of human suffering in the former Yugoslavia.

Many of the States whose representatives have spoken at these meetings have asked that the Council decide to lift the arms embargo as it relates to Bosnia and Herzegovina. The premises on which this request - which ultimately has to do with the exercise of the right of legitimate individual and

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collective defence of every State - are quite understandable. However, I do not think that the measure that is being requested would be a positive contribution to the cause of peace. Violence will not be eliminated by increasing the flow of arms. Also, the geography and topography of the region could mean that the flows of arms would be easily diverted and go to swell the arsenals of the agressors and would therefore not safeguard the rights of the victims they were intended to protect.

It has been said, and rightly so, that both the arms embargo promulgated by resolution 713 (1991) and the sanctions imposed under resolution 757 (1992) have been and are being frequently violated. It is a fact that the lack of surveillance and control systems and of compulsory provisions or machinery have borne on this failure to comply with these resolutions.

The Committee set up under resolution 724 (1991) has been acting, in respect of the arms embargo, on the basis of the complaints submitted to it, which has been on very few occasions and which requires the cooperation of the very States that are accused of violating the embargo. This last factor has obviously seriously restricted the outcome of these investigations.

With respect to resolution 757 (1992), the political complexities and the geography of the region has made it easy not to fulfil the bans that have been put in place. The transshipment of goods through the territory of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) has led to chronic violations of resolution 757 (1992). The Sanctions Committee has adopted measures regarding shipping on the Danube and on ships in which Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) has a controlling interest, and these have been picked up in the draft resolution

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before us; they will, without a doubt, improve observance of resolution 757 (1992). The same should be said of the new bans that will be placed on goods transiting Yugoslavia.

Ecuador believes that the provisions, in the draft resolution, for controlling maritime shipping the appeal to the riparian States to adopt the necessary surveillance measures and the deployment of observers on the frontiers of Bosnia and Herzegovina are positive, very important elements which will make it possible for the objectives set out by the Security Council to be achieved.

Ecuador of course believes that, above and beyond these considerations, there is a need for solidarity with suffering human beings, and this is why humanitarian assistance activities should have priority support. My country is grateful to and encourages all those who are contributing economically or by other means to the humanitarian assistance programmes.

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Bosnia and Herzegovina must survive as an independent and sovereign State within its own legitimate borders, organizing itself internally in a form freely chosen by its constituents, a form in which the human rights of all are respected, without undue outside interference. The community of nations is ready to fulfil its obligations under the United Nations Charter in order to ensure this outcome. That is the message which the draft resolution before us wishes to send out to everyone, especially to the aggressors. That is why Ecuador will vote in favour of its adoption.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Ecuador for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. ARRIA (Venezuela): I should like to commend and congratulate you, Sir, on your presidency over our work this month. I assure you of our full support in your important task. I should also like to pay a tribute to Ambassador Jean-Bernard Mérimée of France, who presided over our deliberations so effectively and skilfully in October.

I should like to begin by expressing our gratitude to Mrs. Ogata, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and to General Nambiar, commander of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), who have earned the international community's recognition for their noble and valiant efforts. We note that, despite all the limitations and constraints on them, they have brought a tremendous sense of sensitivity and responsibility to this very tragic situation.

Racial and religious persecution and extermination; aggression and armed violence; concentration camps; breaches of human rights; war crimes; genocide; violation of sovereignty; the conquest of territory by force; the devastation of cities: these were the main elements that galvanized the world into establishing the United Nations in San Francisco Charter. Barely 47 years

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have passed and once again the Security Council and the General Assembly are seeing, in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the same tragic scenario of crimes, assaults and aberrant violations of all the norms and principles embodied in the Charter of this Organization. Our peoples believed that the world would never again have to undergo such an experience, which tested the mettle and the will of humanity as a whole. The Serbians, with extraordinary cruelty, have undertaken to re-enact these crimes against humanity.

International peace and security in the former Yugoslavia are clearly being further undermined. Not only has the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina seen its population and territory decimated, but "ethnic cleansing" policies are expanding significantly. The most fundamental rights are being violated. The sanctions regime authorized by this Council has been continously violated. The crisis is overflowing into Kosovo and Vojvodina, and the death toll among the unprotected population in Bosnia and Herzegovina this winter could exceed that of the victims of the armed conflict. Concentration camps remain in operation. Former Prime Minister Mazowiecki, the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights, has informed us that he has evidence that war crimes have been committted. Resolution 781 (1992) banning military flights over Bosnia and Herzegovina has been violated from the very first day. Heavy weapons in the possession of Serbia, which should be under international control, continue to devastate the towns of the Republic. The leader of the Serbian aggression, Radovan Karadzic, describing the situation of the Muslim population, said that they were trapped like rats in a cage. This is an appalling state of affairs and one that the international community cannot accept.

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In the current debate in the Security Council, we have heard from the Co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, Mr. Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen. The international community appreciates and values their dedication and efforts in that process. Their prestige and experience unquestionably are and have been of special importance. Their statements in this debate have strengthened our confidence in them, and it is precisely for this reason that I feel bound here to comment on the statement of former Secretary of State Vance. He said:

> "The international community cannot accept non-compliance with these guidelines." (S/PV.3134, p. 22)

What are those guidelines to which he refers? They are precisely those that this Council and the General Assembly have set out in order to tackle and resolve the enormous tragedy that we are facing.

Mr. Vance reminded us that the Council and the Assembly have called for a political agreement in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter and the international norms of human rights and humanitarian law. He reminded us that we have condemned the forced expulsion of citizens, illegal detentions and any attempt to change the demographic composition of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. He reminded us that we had invoked the principle of the inviolability of borders and non-recognition of their alteration by force. He reminded us that we called for respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. He reminded us that the Council would disavow and reject the acquisition of territories by force.

Mr. Vance did well to remind us of all these things. His reminder was very timely, and my delegation fully shares his views, especially those he expressed when he said:

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"I do ... want to underscore my firm conviction that there can be no compromise when it comes to respect for the principles of the Charter and of the international norms of human rights and humanitarian law." (S/PV.3134, p. 22)

The Council will undoubtedly endorse this extraordinary statement by taking the appropriate action. That is our real mandate from the international community, to which we in the Security Council should respond in accordance with Article 25 of the Charter. That is our duty.

Lastly, Mr. Vance is absolutely correct in warning us that:

"Given this complex and testing situation, it will require the strongest resolve of the international community to bring about a durable cessation of hostilities and compliance with the principles of the Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the decisions of this Council." (S/PV.3134, p. 16)

I believe this warning could not be more clear or eloquent. There can be no compromise with our objectives.

It is not just a question of the vandalizing and destruction of the Republic and people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is not just that which calls on us to take action commensurate with a crisis of this magnitude: there is also the imminent prospect of terrible conflicts, the breakdown of the demilitarization process in the protected areas of Croatia, and the spread of the violence against the Albanian populace in Kosovo and the Hungarian populace in Vojvodina, as well as increasing tension in Macedonia.

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The pattern of these developments seems to be leading inexorably to a tragedy of even greater magnitude than the one that we are now facing.

When discussing here the nature of the conflict and the means to be used to address it, it is fitting, as Members of the Organization, that we should exercise our responsibility to pause and reflect and to speak out in no uncertain terms. That, in my delegation's view, is the obligation which accompanies the privilege of being a non-permanent member of this body.

In that respect, though, we must admit - and the sooner we do so the better - that the regional organizations, including my own, are ill-prepared to deal with tragedies of such magnitude and intensity as this. Conventional methods of peace-keeping and humanitarian assistance do not suffice. Peace-keeping operations, in which many countries and non-governmental organizations are generously and courageously participating, were designed for situations in which there is consensus and agreement between the parties to the conflict. That is certainly not the case today. We are faced with a situation that does not lend itself specifically to a noble conventional operation: fundamentally, order must be imposed; yet the forces on the ground, who face enormous risks, are neither authorized nor equipped for the task.

It is unimaginable that the local war lords of the fratricidal carnage in Somalia have seen any action in the former Yugoslavia that would dissuade them from pursuing their present course. They have seen our resolutions flouted; they have observed our own insistence on following the conventional practice of requesting the agreement of the parties before intervening. But that has only served to legitimize and to give international recognition to the war lords, who represent no one. This is so because we are using methods

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that we know to be unsuited to a crisis affecting a country devoid of political structure.

Canada, a country that has particular authority by virtue of its great contribution to the United Nations, in particular its active role in peace-keeping operations, has launched an intense public debate about the nature and function of peace-keeping operations. For this reason, and because of the truth and insight of her words, I want to cite the statement made in Toronto recently by Canada's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mrs. Barbara McDougall. Speaking at a conference entitled, "Adapting to Survival: global security from Sarajevo to Maastrecht to Rio", she said:

> "The nature of peace-keeping is changing. Changing circumstances require new methods and approaches. Peace-keeping needs to be viewed as an instrument in the peace process, not as an end in itself. Basically, we should look critically and creatively at peace-keeping as an instrument for the administration of conflicts."

And Mrs. McDougall asked:

> "Would this be the best instrument with which to address the new kind of ethnic, social and religious conflicts that we see in Moldova, Somalia, Nagorny-Karabakh and Cambodia? What is the future of peace-keeping operations in support of humanitarian assistance, as is the case in Sarajevo, where peace-keeping is regarded as an instrument to support humanitarian assistance?"

The quotation concludes:

> "The international community must consider a more structured approach to these objectives, instead of addressing them on a case-by-case basis."

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

Venezuela will vote in favour of this new draft resolution - the twenty-third in fact - just as we have consistently been supporting the activities of the international community to put an end to this intolerable conflict. But we must place on record our profound concern at the fact that we have not yet found the ways and means of putting such resolutions into effect and of ensuring compliance with them. Countries that are genuinely capable of doing so bear continuing responsibility for the potential loss of the Security Council's credibility and prestige. Should that occur, it would have incalculable - indeed, inexcusable - effects on other conflicts in the world.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Venezuela for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. MUMBENGEGWI (Zimbabwe): Mr. President, allow me to express my delegation's satisfaction at seeing you presiding over our work during the month of November. Your vast experience assures us of a fruitful and successful month. May I also take this opportunity to express our appreciation to your predecessor, Ambassador Mérimée of France, for the very able and elegant manner in which he piloted the work of the Council during the busy month of October. Our thanks are due also to Lord Owen and Secretary Vance, co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the former Yugoslavia, for their valuable statements, and to Mrs. Ogata, High Commissioner for Refugees, for her report to the Security Council.

Zimbabwe is greatly concerned at the continuing crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The toll in human suffering continues unabated, and this is clearly unacceptable. What is most distressing is the fact that such bitter

(Mr. Mumbengegwi, Zimbabwe)

hostilities now exist among communities which in the past have lived side by side in peace and harmony as part of one nation, the former Yugoslavia.

The international community therefore has a duty to make every possible effort to restore mutual trust and confidence among the warring communities of Bosnia and Herzegovina so that they may be able to live together again in peace and harmony. Zimbabwe does not believe that the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina can be resolved through force of arms. Hostilities can best be brought to an end through careful negotiation and confidence-building measures that will enable the parties to the conflict to recognize that their concerns are being seriously addressed.

It is in this context that my delegation would like to commend Lord Owen and Secretary Vance for their dogged and tenacious pursuit of a negotiated political settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We are all duty bound to support their efforts. Our actions and decisions should be designed to have the effect of promoting rather than undermining their efforts.

The intensity of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina has created a serious humanitarian situation which is of great concern to my delegation. The attendant bitterness among the warring communities has generated practices which constitute grave violations of international humanitarian law. The obnoxious and unlawful practice of "ethnic cleansing" must be condemned by all in the strongest possible terms. This unacceptable practice has to be stopped forthwith and all displaced people must return to their former homes in peace and freedom.

(Mr. Mumbengegwi, Zimbabwe)

My delegation believes that the gravity of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina warrants this debate. It is our hope that efforts will be concentrated on examining ways and means of decelerating rather than fanning hostilities, of building mutual confidence rather than fuelling mutual suspicion, of making peace rather than making war, in short, of finding a lasting, comprehensive political solution to the crisis.

Zimbabwe has always viewed the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina as essentially a civil war. This, therefore, suggests that in the final analysis it is the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina - Muslims, Croats, and Serbs together - who will resolve that problem. Of course the international community can, and indeed must, assist them. The complexity of the situation has to be fully appreciated. Patience and impartial mediation are essential. Lord Owen and Secretary Vance should be congratulated in this regard. The United Nations, as one of the mediating parties, needs to undertake this most delicate task not only in an impartial manner but also in a manner that is seen to be impartial. Any approach that can be construed as selective finger-pointing, selective apportionment of blame, selective condemnation, or selective punishment can serve to exacerbate the situation and make an already difficult task even more difficult for those entrusted by us to broker a negotiated peaceful solution.

Zimbabwe pays a tribute to the brave men and women of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) for their sterling effort to ensure that humanitarian assistance is delivered under very difficult and dangerous circumstances. We cannot overemphasize the need for all parties to the conflict to cooperate fully with UNPROFOR in carrying out its mandate and ensure the Force's safety as it undertakes this noble endeavour.

(Mr. Mumbengegwi, Zimbabwe)

In conclusion, my delegation believes that the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia is the appropriate framework for an overall political settlement of the crisis that engulfs the former Yugoslavia. We therefore call upon all the parties to the conflict to cooperate fully with the Co-Chairmen of the Conference to ensure its success. Indeed, it must succeed, for the consequences of failure, stated simply, are just too ghastly to contemplate.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Zimbabwe for the very kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker on my list is the representative of Pakistan. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. KHAN (Pakistan): The delegation of Pakistan welcomes this opportunity to participate in the Security Council's debate on the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

On behalf of the Pakistan delegation I should like to extend to you, Sir, our felicitations on assuming the Council's presidency for the current month. We are confident that your wide experience and renowned diplomatic ability will enable the Council to adopt well-considered and effective measures on the grave issues with which it is confronted.

The Pakistan delegation also avails itself of this opportunity to express its high appreciation to the Permanent Representative of France, His Excellency Mr. Jean-Bernard Mérimée, for the most impressive manner in which he discharged his functions as President of the Security Council for the month of October 1992.

We appreciate the endeavours of Mr. Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, Co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, to

(Mr. Khan, Pakistan)

promote a political solution of the crises in Bosnia and note with interest the information they have conveyed. We are also appreciative of the heroic efforts made by the peace-keeping forces and the personnel of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to provide urgent relief and humanitarian assistance to a desperate civilian population in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Pakistan fully supports international efforts to secure a peaceful settlement of the crises. We stand prepared to assist in every possible manner. My delegation supports the proposals of the International Conference for the future constitutional framework of Bosnia and Herzegovina based on the principles of democracy, rejection of the consequences of the policy of "ethnic cleansing" and the territorial integrity and unity of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Bosnia and Herzegovina is a small State. It is a new Member of the United Nations. It is being subjected to blatant aggression by an expansionist neighbour. Its people - men, women and children - are being systematically uprooted and often brutally slaughtered. If the Council does not act, hundreds of thousands of innocent people will die before this winter passes. If the Council does not act, a sovereign State Member of the United Nations may disappear from the map of the world.

Public opinion in Pakistan is greatly incensed at the systematic campaign of "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia and particularly at the failure of the international community to take decisive action to halt the brutal slaughter being perpetrated by the Serbs.

For several weeks Pakistan, together with other members of the Contact Group of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC), has sought to convene a meeting of the Security Council to consider the situation in Bosnia and

(Mr. Khan, Pakistan)

Herzegovina. We are therefore gratified that this meeting has finally been convened. We hope that it will adopt resolute steps to restore peace and redress the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina. In this context we endorse the statement made by the Chairman of the OIC Contact Group, Ambassador Aksin of Turkey.

We have been informed that the cease-fire declared in Bosnia last week is holding. We hope it will persist. We also hope that an interruption of the Serbian aggression is not merely timed to coincide with this debate in the Security Council. Pakistan believes that the Council's demand for the cessation of hostilities will be credible only if it is accompanied by a display of political determination to enforce its decisions, if necessary by the use of measures available under Chapter VII of the Charter.

The call for cessation of hostilities must be accompanied by a demand for the reversal of the gains of Serbian aggression. The territories and towns occupied by the Serbs in Bosnia must be vacated. The aggressor must not be allowed to impose a fait accompli. The territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina must be fully restored and its sovereignty respected. The principle of inviolability of internationally recognized borders must be enforced.

(Mr. Khan, Pakistan)

In the war in Bosnia, the systematic violation of human rights - the brutal campaign of "ethnic cleansing" - is not the consequence of the conflict, but its cause. The Security Council must respond resolutely to this genocidal campaign against the Bosnian people and particularly against the Muslims. It must act vigorously to stop the atrocities being committed against the Muslims, the like of which have not been witnessed since the holocaust. As stated by the United Nations Special Rapporteur, the Bosnian Muslims face extermination. In a recent report entitled "Bosnia-Herzegovina: gross abuses of basic human rights", Amnesty International has documented the numerous specific instances of murder, forced expulsions, detention and torture in concentration camps operated by the Serbs. Similar information has been provided to the United Nations by the United States Government as well as other countries pursuant to Security Council resolutions 771 (1992) and 780 (1992).

Pakistan welcomes resolution 780 (1992) of the Security Council, which established an impartial Commission of Experts to examine and analyse information on violations of humanitarian law in Bosnia. Regrettably this measure was considerably delayed. The evidence which is already available justifies the immediate establishment of an international war crimes tribunal to punish the perpetrators of the crimes against humanity in Bosnia. The Serbs who are brazenly committing murder and mayhem in Bosnia must know that they will not go unpunished.

To save lives and restore peace in Bosnia, there are three areas - humanitarian, political and military - in which the Security Council must take urgent and simultaneous action without delay.

(Mr. Khan, Pakistan)

Bosnia and Herzegovina is a humanitarian nightmare. Since the London Conference, almost a million Bosnians have been evicted from their homes at gunpoint and transformed into refugees in their own homeland. Relief supplies continue to be impeded by the Serbs. Winter is upon them. Unless food and clothing reach the Bosnian people, more than 400,000 innocent men, women and children will die of starvation and exposure. Humanitarian assistance can be provided to them in adequate quantity only if the air and land routes are open and secure. The United Nations forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina need to be strengthened to ensure that the humanitarian assistance gets through to the suffering people of that country. Additional forces will be available if the financing can be found. The amounts involved in assuring the provision of essential supplies to the besieged people of Bosnia are well within the means of the more affluent members of the United Nations.

Another step which can be taken to ease the plight of the civilian population in Bosnia is the creation of safety zones. This would insulate them from the war and make the provision of humanitarian assistance easier. The Council should therefore call for the withdrawal of all military forces, in the first instance from the regions of Sarajevo, Tuzla, Gorazde, Bihac, Jajce and Travnik. These safety zones could be enforced by the peace-keeping forces in Bosnia.

The Security Council, above all, needs to display the political determination to enforce the measures it has adopted to halt the Serbian aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina. Serbian forces have repeatedly violated the ban on overflights in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We welcome the decision to station additional United Nations observers at

(Mr. Khan, Pakistan)

various airfields in the former Yugoslav republics to monitor the enforcement of the ban of overflights by both fixed-wing and rotary-wing aircraft. Yet the Serbian forces, including the former Yugoslav armed forces, cannot be expected to observe this and other demands of the Council unless these are backed by the full powers available to the Security Council under the Charter. Therefore, in imposing the ban on overflights and other sanctions against the Serbian aggressors, the Council must act under Chapter VII of the Charter.

It is no secret that the economic and trade sanctions imposed against Serbia and Montenegro are being extensively violated. The decision to allow the transit of goods across Serbian territory is an obviously open invitation for the wilful violation of these sanctions. Sanctions must therefore be tightened against Serbia. Those who continue to supply the aggressor bear the burden of complicity in the crimes being committed against the Bosnian people. We hope that the measures proposed in the present draft resolution will result in the effective and complete enforcement of the sanctions against the aggressor.

If the Security Council cannot act to assure compliance with its call for a halt in the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina, if it cannot stop the slaughter of the Bosnian people, it should at least allow the Government and people of Bosnia to exercise the inherent right of self-defence in accordance with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. It is the arms embargo, imposed by resolution 713 (1992) of the Security Council on the territories of former Yugoslavia, which prevents the Government and the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina from acquiring the means for legitimate self-defence. The Serbian aggressors have the entire arsenal of the former Yugoslav army at their

(Mr. Khan, Pakistan)

disposal. The victims of their aggression - especially the Bosnian Muslims - are virtually unarmed. The Security Council's embargo has the effect of strengthening the hands of the aggressor and tying the hands of the victim behind his back. The aggressor must not be equated with the victims of aggression.

The Pakistan delegation disagrees profoundly with those who argue that lifting the embargo against Bosnia will exacerbate the conflict. On the contrary, the experience of Croatia indicates that the Serbs halted their onslaught only after the Croats were enabled to put up a stiff resistance. The Bosnians, on the other hand, are in no position to resist, much less repel, the Serbian attacks. What is more, the Serbs seem confident that neither the Security Council nor any other member of the international community will intervene in the conflict on behalf of the Bosnian Muslims.

The Foreign Ministers of the Islamic countries are scheduled to meet in Jeddah on 1 December 1992 to consider the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Islamic countries are prepared fully to support the measures adopted by this Council to help the Bosnian people to halt the war and reverse the Serbian aggression.

In the post-cold-war era, there can be no excuse for a failure to respond to the blatant and brutal aggression to which Bosnia and Herzegovina is being subjected. There can be no excuse for a failure to respond to the vivid images we have seen of an entire people being subjected to the genocidal practice of "ethnic cleansing". There can be no excuse for allowing hundreds of thousands of innocent men, women and children to die because those who could help them were unwilling to spare a few hundred million dollars.

(Mr. Khan, Pakistan)

The failure of the Security Council to help Bosnia would have far-reaching consequences for international peace and security. If an aggression as blatant as that taking place against Bosnia goes unanswered, the small and weaker States will lose confidence in the ability of the Council to safeguard their security. Those who entertain great power or expansionist ambitions will be emboldened to pursue their illegitimate aims. Incidents of aggression, suppression and occupation will increase. Arms will proliferate; disarmament will remain a chimera. Conflict and chaos will become the hallmarks of the new post-cold-war era.

The Security Council bears the heavy responsibility of repelling Serbian aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Council's decision will have far-reaching consequences for world peace and security. The Pakistan delegation trusts that the members of the Council will act with the wisdom and determination demanded by the awesome possibilities of this important moment in world history.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Pakistan for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Slovenia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. TÜRK (Slovenia): The delegation of Slovenia appreciates this opportunity to speak before the Security Council.

May I begin by emphasizing how pleased we are to see you, Sir, presiding over the Security Council. We continue to admire your work in the Council and your diplomatic skill and talent, and we are convinced that under your guidance the work of the Security Council will be successful, as it was under the exemplary chairmanship of Ambassador Jean-Bernard Mérimée of France, who presided over the proceedings of the Council in October.

Our delegation appreciates the introductory statements made last Friday by Mr. Vance and Lord Owen, the co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia.

We are grateful to Mrs. Sadako Ogata, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, for the thorough analysis in her statement at the beginning of this debate. We salute her and her team for the great work done under the most adverse conditions prevailing in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We are grateful to Mr. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the Special Rapporteur on the human-rights situation, for the thorough analysis and candid thoughts expressed in his second report, in particular those that are of direct relevance to the present discussion by the Security Council on the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Security Council is meeting to consider one of the most dangerous situations of our time, the tragedy of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Much has

(Mr. Türk, Slovenia)

already been said about the atrocities committed in that country and about the resulting threat to international peace and security. All this has, indeed, shocked the conscience of humankind. At the same time, however, the lack of success of the efforts to stop the violence and to find a political solution to the crisis gives rise to disappointment and concern. This is very disturbing. What we see today is a clear and present danger of the annihilation of a Member State of the United Nations and of an entire people - the Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Action is clearly needed, but before the debate on action there must be a clear answer to the following question: what kind of war is being fought in Bosnia and Herzegovina? A clear answer to this question is necessary if the international community is to devise appropriate and effective action to stop the war and restore peace.

The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina is an international armed conflict, with specific objectives pursued by those who started it, and a war characterized by unprecedented brutality.

In his recent report to the Security Council and the General Assembly, Mr. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the Special Rapporteur, made a very pertinent point when he emphasized something which has often been quoted in this discussion:

> "the principal objective of the military conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina is the establishment of ethnically-homogenous regions. Ethnic cleansing does not appear to be the consequences of the war, but rather its goal. That goal, to a large extent, has already been achieved through killings, beatings, rape, destruction of houses and threats.

(Mr. Türk, Slovenia)

Such practices have intensified in recent weeks and there is less and less resistance on the part of the non-Serbian population, increasing numbers of whom are ready to abandon everything and to flee their homeland." (S/24766, para. 6).

The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina is neither civil strife nor an ethnic conflict. It is a war for territory, in which the goal of ethnic homogeneity and the method of the so-called ethnic cleansing epitomize its most abominable aspect.

The present fragile and precarious cease-fire in Sarajevo does not change anything in this picture. "Ethnic cleansing" continues unabated. Meanwhile, the overall humanitarian situation remains tragic.

Mr. Cornelio Sommaruga, President of the International Committee of the Red Cross, emphasized several days ago in his statement in the Third Committee:

"in Bosnia and Herzegovina, hundreds of thousands of helpless and utterly destitute civilians have been forced to take the road to exile; others have been arrested, tortured, massacred, becoming martyrs of inadmissible policies. When we weigh the impact of these tragic events against the efforts made to find solutions, we are forced to the distressing conclusion that the results are meagre indeed. Nor can we rule out the possibility that these situations will deteriorate even further."

Statements like that - made by the leading personalities seized of the humanitarian problems and the human-rights situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina - must be not only an additional reason for concern, but also an additional reason for action. This brings us to the second question: what kind of action is needed, and on which rationale should it be based?

(Mr. Türk, Slovenia)

The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina has given rise to enormous humanitarian problems, and represents a threat to international peace and security. It is an international armed conflict. Therefore, effective and vigorous international action for the restoration of peace and security and, above all, for the prevention of any further deterioration of this grave humanitarian crisis is legitimate.

The Security Council has already established priorities of action with respect to Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the humanitarian aspects of that action are among the main priorities. It is now necessary to take those steps that will prevent further deterioration of the humanitarian situation.

Two such measures were proposed, inter alia, in the report prepared by Mr. Mazowiecki: first, an increase in humanitarian assistance; and, secondly, active pursuit of the concept of security zones or safe areas within the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Slovenia supports these ideas. From the very beginning, from the earliest stages of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, we have been aware of the need for urgent and vigorous international action in the humanitarian field; I emphasize "in the humanitarian field". From the earliest stages we have advocated the need to provide appropriate armed protection for humanitarian-relief convoys and to develop appropriate safety zones in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We presented proposals to that effect at the international meeting on humanitarian aid for the victims of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, held in Geneva on 29 July 1992.

We realize that the proposals concerning the establishment of safety zones in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina are now coming from a number of organizations and from a great number of Member States. We believe

(Mr. Türk, Slovenia)

that it is high time - and perhaps the last opportunity - to give these proposals the attention they deserve and to act upon them. The role of the Security Council is particularly important in this context.

While emphasizing the importance of the concept of safe areas, we wish to emphasize their preventive role in the overall context of the armed conflict. They would represent an effective instrument to prevent further "ethnic cleansing" and would provide a safe haven for people who may otherwise be forced to flee. Moreover, they would represent the first step in the process of repatriation of refugees, which, in turn, is a fundamental prerequisite for any viable political and constitutional solution in Bosnia and Herzegovina and for the preservation of its territorial integrity.

(Mr. Türk, Slovenia)

It is therefore important that immediate action along these lines be taken, since it would constitute a proper response to humanitarian needs, an effective form of peacemaking and peace-keeping, and the necessary basis for lasting political arrangements to be devised in the future. We hope that the proposals for the establishment of safety areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina will be duly heeded by the Security Council and that appropriate action will be taken, and taken soon.

As we emphasized earlier, the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina is an international armed conflict. This was internationally recognized in a variety of ways, including by the imposition of sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - that is, Serbia and Montenegro.

While we must insist on such principles as the non-acceptance of the acquisition of territory by force, rejectio of "ethnic cleansing" and reaffirmation of the principle of strict respect for the territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina, it remains necessary that sanctions be maintained and, indeed, made effective. Sanctions represent, after humanitarian action, the second major type of action likely to yield useful results.

In this connection it is necessary to emphasize that in order to be effective the sanctions regime should be comprehensive and coherently applied. We agree with the view expressed by many speakers in this discussion that a sustained policy of effective economic sanctions, including in particular an effective oil embargo, is necessary now. We hope that the Security Council will act to ensure the effectiveness of such sanctions.

Moreover, requirements of coherence and credibility call for a consistent policy of the United Nations and all its organs with respect to the fact that the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been replaced by its

(Mr. Türk, Slovenia)

successor States. The former State of Yugoslavia has dissolved and ceased to exist. This basic circumstance must be fully appreciated. There is no future in any aspiration to re-establish that former State, either directly or indirectly.

All successors of the former Yugoslavia must be treated equally, and each of them must prove to be a peace-loving State, in accordance with Article 4 of the Charter; hence the need to insist on the principle that no successor State of the former, and therefore now non-existent, State of Yugoslavia could be granted automatic membership in the United Nations. I plead with the members of the Security Council to remain faithful to this principle, as formulated in the Council's resolution 777 (1992), and to insist that, as envisaged in that resolution, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - that is, Serbia and Montenegro - should apply for membership of the United Nations and fulfil the criteria of Article 4 of the Charter.

Much more could be said about the tragedy of Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, we wished to concentrate on the essential aspects of the action required. Two notions are central in this context: first, the urgency of humanitarian action and, secondly, the consistency of measures to be taken. We hope that the Security Council will live up to the expectations of the world public and the Members of the United Nations and adopt appropriate decisions which will make United Nations action both effective in humanitarian terms and coherent in political terms.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Slovenia for the kind words he addressed to me.

I invite the representative of Canada to take a place at the Council table and to make her statement.

Mrs. FRÉCHETTE (Canada) (interpretation from French): Allow me at the outset, Sir, to offer you my delegation's congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. We are certain that you will be able to guide the Council's work this month with your characteristic skill and effectiveness.

We should like also to thank Ambassador Jean-Bernard Mérimée of France for the outstanding way in which he led the Council's work last month.

My delegation listened very attentively and with great interest to the report given by Mr. Vance and Lord Owen last Friday. Canada unreservedly supports the process set in motion by the London Conference. This process continues, in our view, to offer the best, if not the only, chance to arrive at a comprehensive and lasting solution to the conflict that is besetting the territories of the former Yugoslavia. We should also like to thank the High Commissioner for Refugees, Mrs. Sadako Ogata, and the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights, Mr. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, for their reports, which impressed upon us yet again the scale of the human tragedy taking place today in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Those reports attest to the sustained efforts of the international community to find a solution to the Yugoslav conflict and to come to the aid of its innocent victims. But we must acknowledge that, despite those efforts, the atrocities continue and, far from easing, the conflict is persisting and spreading without any prospect of immediate solution.

The crisis that is shaking the Balkan peninsula is not of concern solely to Europe; it calls for the attention of all those who cherish respect for the principles that underlay the birth of this Organization and inspired the drafters of its Charter.

(Mrs. Fréchette, Canada)

From the very beginning, Canada perceived the threat this crisis posed for the security of the entire region and was among the first to call for United Nations intervention. Despite the fact that we are thousands of kilometres away from Belgrade, Zagreb and Sarajevo, we are concerned about the Yugoslav conflict and have unhesitatingly made our contribution to United Nations actions. The situation requires that the international community persevere in its efforts and strengthen its action. That is why my delegation strongly supports the draft resolution now before the Council.

(spoke in English)

Canada strongly supports the proposals put forward by the London Conference on the Former Yugoslavia for a new constitutional arrangement for Bosnia and Herzegovina. We believe it offers an excellent base for negotiations among the three constituent communities of Bosnia, while respecting the internationally recognized principles for peaceful settlement of disputes. Proposals such as those recently submitted by Mr. Karadzic involving enforced and massive population transfers would be profoundly unjust and would entail further instability. Approaches based on violence and ethnic hatred can in no way qualify as real options.

The three communities of Bosnia have an obligation to engage in genuine negotiations on the Vance-Owen proposal put before them. Those in Belgrade and Zagreb, with influence over the parties in Bosnia, have the responsibility to use their influence to secure these negotiations. The international community, for its part, must hold firm to the principles that it wants respected as a framework for these negotiations. As an active and concerned participant in the London Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, my Government strongly supports Mr. Vance and Lord Owen in the pursuit of their most difficult mandate.

(Mrs. Fréchette, Canada)

The draft resolution before the Security Council today reaffirms the principle that the taking of territory by force and the abhorrent practice of "ethnic cleansing" are immoral, unlawful and unacceptable. They should not and will not be permitted to affect the outcome of the negotiations on the future arrangement of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(Mrs. Fréchette, Canada)

Of course, the communities of that Republic, including the Serbs, have a right to favour a particular political arrangement for their country - and this is not being denied to them. What is unacceptable is that, using as a pretext the "protection" of their people, some self-appointed leaders have imposed their control over two thirds of Bosnian territory and now expect to use this as a fait accompli in the negotiating process. The Security Council must make it clear to them that this approach will fail.

To that end, the Belgrade authorities must join other countries of the world in asserting without ambiguity that they recognize the integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of Croatia, and that they will not recognize any unilaterally declared entities within these States, such as the so-called Serb republics within Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Canada is pleased that, in line with the commitments undertaken by the parties at the London Conference last August, checkpoints are being considered for the Bosnian borders with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - Serbia and Montenegro - and with Croatia. This is of utmost importance if we want to see interference and the infiltration of irregular army units stop.

Canada believes that not enough has yet been done to demonstrate to those responsible for some of the worst crimes against humanity in Europe in 50 years that they will be held individually responsible in respect of such acts. They should, and will, be punished for the atrocities they commit in the name of the appalling policy of "ethnic cleansing". As our Secretary of State for External Affairs said at the London Conference, either these atrocities are committed on the order of the political leaders of these communities, rendering these leaders responsible, or these are the mad initiatives of criminals, again rendering their political leaders in Belgrade, Zagreb and Sarajevo responsible for bringing them to justice.

(Mrs. Fréchette, Canada)

If we want to carry the appropriate message to those in Belgrade, international sanctions must be strictly imposed. This does not appear to be the case in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - Serbia and Montenegro. Too many "front" companies have been set up in third countries; too many products "in transit" never reach their stated destination.

The sanctions regime must be strengthened. Already in September my Government reminded all Canadian firms not to enter into financial arrangements involving Serbian and Montenegran companies that are trying to circumvent United Nations sanctions, for example by registering their ships in other countries. The Security Council now recommends this be done by all States Members of the United Nations, which is a measure we applaud.

The draft resolution also calls upon all States to use necessary measures to ensure strict application of the sanctions regime by inspecting and verifying maritime shipping cargo. We strongly support this. Canada has already participated in the naval task force monitoring traffic on the Adriatic coast, and we are participating in sanctions monitoring in neighbouring countries.

With millions of displaced persons and the senseless destruction of homes and factories, humanitarian needs in many regions of the former Yugoslavia are colossal. Canada has already committed more than C$ 25 million in direct humanitarian assistance. This, plus our participation in the expansion of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), without financial support from the United Nations, represents, we believe, a very major contribution. We ask other countries, including those that called for this particular meeting, to

(Mrs. Fréchette, Canada)

respond to international appeals by such organizations as the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. International burden-sharing in financing United Nations peace-keeping operations is also imperative, as we have underlined consistently for years.

When the United Nations took the decision to suspend the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - Serbia and Montenegro - from participation in the work of the General Assembly, it was to underline to the Belgrade authorities the need for them to convince the United Nations that they met the requirements for admission to membership. Tough sanctions have been implemented against Belgrade in recognition of the fact that the Belgrade authorities carry the largest measure of blame for the violence that has unfolded over the former Yugoslavia in the last 18 months.

We are encouraged by the laudable efforts being undertaken by Prime Minister Panic with a view to correcting the destructive approaches taken by other Serbian leaders. We support him in his endeavours. But in awaiting the results of his efforts, the international community must remain resolute against those Belgrade authorities who continue to espouse policies of destruction. We believe this is the message the Security Council is conveying in its adoption of the draft resolution that is before it.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Canada for her kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Albania. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. SHKURTI (Albania): I take particular delight in extending my heartfelt congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of duties as President of the Security Council for the current month. That is a tribute to your personal qualities and a credit to your country.

At the same time, I should like to express my esteem for your predecessor, Ambassador Jean-Bernard Mérimée, whose chairmanship was clear evidence of his accomplishments, so indispensable for this Council in the fulfilment of the objectives to which the international community aspires.

I also wish to thank Mr. Vance and Lord Owen, Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, as well as the Special Rapporteur, Mr. Mazowiecki, for their briefings of the Security Council. Likewise, my heartfelt thanks go to Mrs. Ogata, High Commissioner for Refugees, for her report to the Council.

The former Yugoslavia constitutes one of the most serious and, at the same time, most tragic challenges faced by the international community and the United Nations. The information received from the Governments of Australia, Austria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Canada, Colombia, Croatia, the Russian Federation, the United States, Venezuela, Yugoslavia - Serbia and Montenegro - and others, as well as information from United Nations sources, including Mr. Mazowiecki, Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights; from the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE); and from a number of non-governmental organizations, including the Helsinki Watch, the World Campaign to Save Humanity, and Amnesty International, indicate that the aggressor not only has committed manifold crimes against Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also has violated international law. Apart from violating

(Mr. Shkurti, Albania)

the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of the Republic, the aggressor has systematically caused enormous destruction and has committed multiple crimes against civilians as well.

People have been unlawfully arrested, tortured and killed; masses of the population have been forcibly displaced, their property stolen and destroyed and their cultural and historical heritage ruined. In some places virtually entire populations have been killed. "Ethnic cleansing" has become an official policy carried out in the interest of Serbia. "Ethnic cleansing" has been carried out systematically and methodically and to such an extent as to make it obvious that there is a comprehensive plan aimed at exterminating the non-Serbian population. Serbian policy has made it impossible for the different ethnic groups to live together, and "ethnic cleansing" seems to be a logical consequence of that policy. Many cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina have been besieged for several months, and their population is under constant artillery fire and left without food, electricity, water supply and medicine. All this will certainly leave a scar on the population for several generations, and the evil is beyond remedy.

(Mr. Shkurti, Albania)

Albania has called for a political settlement consistent with the principles of the Charter and of international standards on human rights. We have strongly condemned forcible expulsions, illegal detentions and all attempts to change the demographic composition of territories.

International public opinion, as well as officials and experts, has repeatedly stressed that the authorities and nationals of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) are responsible for the violence in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to the information and reports made available, aeroplanes, tanks and heavy artillery belonging to the Yugoslav Army are being used in the attacks - small bands of paramilitaries could not keep such a long front under control - and Yugoslav soldiers are involved in running the concentration camps.

What is happening in Bosnia and Herzegovina has aroused the indignation and preoccupation of the Albanian people because it is a question of atrocities and unmatched barbarity. Shocked by the information and reports on the crimes perpetrated by Serbian forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania strongly condemns them as grave violations of international humanitarian law, including the Geneva Conventions. The persons who have committed or ordered the perpetration of grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions are individually responsible. Those violations should be brought to the attention of the Commission of Experts mentioned in resolution 780 (1992).

The Republic of Albania, as a neighbouring country, remains very much concerned about the continuing conflict in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a conflict which threatens international peace and security. At the same time, Albania would like to share with this authoritative organ its grave concern that the next major target could be Kosovo, whose population has

(Mr. Shkurti, Albania)

an Albanian majority that has been deprived of its basic human and national rights.

Arbitrary arrests, political killings or disappearances have occurred in Kosovo. Taking advantage of the failure to stop the aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia is preparing to start a new wave of "ethnic cleansing" by driving out the Albanian majority in Kosovo. During the past week, the situation in the southern Balkan region deteriorated considerably, and most analysts have begun to refer to the increased likelihood of wider conflict involving Kosovo, Macedonia and others. At a time when the blood bath of "ethnic cleansing" is going on in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the danger of a new horror is arising: Serbia may spread the war to Kosovo.

Many facts prove beyond any doubt that massive violations are occurring in areas of the former Yugoslavia, and that the Serbian leadership is responsible for what is happening in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Many soldiers of the Yugoslav Army are still in Bosnia and Herzegovina and are now killing people in Bosnian cities by carrying out large-scale military assaults. One can hardly say that the present leadership of Serbia and Montenegro bears no responsibility for these acts. One cannot imagine that the Federal authorities are incapable of getting the activities of the Serbian and Montenegran authorities under control.

However, so far they have admitted no responsibility for the crimes of "ethnic cleansing", genocide and other grave human rights violations. The responsibility for what is happening in Bosnia and Herzegovina rests with the Federal Government in Serbia and Montenegro. They are also indirectly engaged in the bombing of Sarajevo. There is significant evidence of their active complicity in the "ethnic cleansing" going on.

(Mr. Shkurti, Albania)

The use of massive force is directed primarily against civilians in parts of the former Yugoslavia. The lack of political will and appropriate force appear to indicate that what is going on is in keeping with the Government's policy. But the impression is that the Federal Government is cosmetic decoration and that the real power is in the hands of Serbia. Furthermore, the involvement of unauthorized forces from outside is a violation of international law and has to be punished. All parties must refrain from taking initiatives which might further destabilize the situation in the area.

What is happening at the end of our century is absolutely inconceivable. It is a real holocaust. What is happening in the former Yugoslavia beggars description. The Organization should react vigorously by punishing the perpetrators of "ethnic cleansing", thus giving a clear signal to aggressors.

Actually, we expect the Security Council to take drastic measures to stop the genocide at once. Serbia and Montenegro have undertaken a territorial conquest. The Republic of Albania appeals to all parties to comply immediately and fully with the call for a cease-fire and for an end to all hostile activities directed against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The international community, and the Council in particular, must make it very clear to all those engaged in territorial conquest by the use of armed forces, or through "ethnic cleansing", that it will not tolerate such acts and will not recognize in one way or another any entity so established or any arrangement that would be detrimental to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Albania supports the proposals for the creation of safe areas under military protection within Bosnia and Herzegovina itself as a possibility for solving the problem which should be implemented with the consent of all the

(Mr. Shkurti, Albania)

parties to the conflict and with a reasonable number of additional peace-keeping troops. Safe areas may also change the dynamics of the conflict by creating a movement towards the achievement of peace.

The constitutional proposals put forward by Mr. Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen as a basis for negotiation deserve the full support of the Security Council. The restoration of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of Bosnia and Herzegovina is the only basis for an acceptable peaceful solution.

The United Nations and the Security Council must act to stop the genocide and take the situation under control. If they fail to do so, their reputation and their ability to face post-cold-war situations will be seriously compromised. For many a small people - like the Albanian people - what is in jeopardy is not only the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina per se but the bigger question of trust and confidence in the United Nations and its concept of collective security. The success of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security is dependent on the Council's ability to act to uphold the rule of law on a non-selective basis.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Albania for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Indonesia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. WISNUMURTI (Indonesia): I should like, on behalf of my delegation, to express our congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. We remain confident that with your extensive experience and diplomatic skills, you will guide our deliberations to a successful conclusion. I also wish to pay a well-deserved

(Mr. Wisnumurti, Indonesia)

tribute to your predecessor the Permanent Representative of France, Ambassador Mérimée, for the able guidance he provided to the Council during last month.

Let me avail myself of this opportunity to express our appreciation to you and to the other members of the Council for giving us the opportunity to participate in this debate.

(Mr. Wisnumurti, Indonesia)

We are deeply indebted to Mr. Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen for the statements they delivered last week and for their unremitting efforts to seek a negotiated solution to the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We are also grateful to the High Commissioner for Refugees and to the Special Rapporteur on human rights for their incisive statements. Taken together, they portray a sombre picture of the catastrophic dimension of the situation prevailing in that hapless nation.

My delegation has endorsed the decision of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) to request the convening of the Security Council in order to consider the rapidly deteriorating situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The OIC deserves our commendation for its endeavours in focusing the attention of the international community on this question.

It is with a deep sense of sorrow and anguish that my delegation is addressing this meeting today while the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina are being subjected to the darkest moment in their history. The continuing reports of atrocities and the resultant human suffering have aroused the conscience of mankind. At this critical juncture, therefore, the international community is in duty bound to take immediate and resolute action not only to alleviate the suffering of a people but also to forestall attempts to dismember a newly independent nation.

For some time now my Government has noted with deepening concern the tragic chain of events that have engulfed Bosnia and Herzegovina. Following the referendum held last February and the subsequent declaration of independence, Bosnia and Herzegovina became a victim of unabashed aggression resulting in horrendous loss of life as well as the destruction of historical landmarks, hospitals and schools. The gravity of the situation has been made

(Mr. Wisnumurti, Indonesia)

fully evident by the unmitigated violence and bloodshed, by the barbarism of paramilitary groups in the newly seized territory, by the massive influx of refugees to neighbouring countries and by repeated violations of cease-fire agreements. My Government is appalled by this grim state of affairs.

The Tenth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Jakarta last September, expressed grave concern over the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and condemned the massive violation of human rights and the unconscionable policy of "ethnic cleansing". The Summit therefore demanded the immediate cessation of hostilities, the speedy withdrawal of all external forces from the territory, the deployment of United Nations peace-keeping forces, the freeing of all prisoners, the dismantling of camps, prisons and other places of detention, and the exercise of the right of refugees to return to their homes.

It is to be regretted that, despite the intense diplomatic efforts and actions of the European Community and the United Nations to contain the conflict, every day has brought new and more ominous reports of escalating levels of violence, mounting casualties and increased human privation. Indeed, the situation has markedly worsened owing to the continued aggression, the relentless bombardment of cities and towns and the forced expulsions. Further exacerbating the situation is the blatant violation both of the London accords and of the decisions of this body.

Throughout the ordeal the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina has demonstrated its good faith in seeking a peaceful settlement of the conflict. It unequivocally accepted the principles outlined in the proposed constitutional framework. It has faithfully implemented the decisions of the London Conference, and it has cooperated in implementing the resolutions

(Mr. Wisnumurti, Indonesia)

adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council. But the hope for peace, sought by Bosnia and Herzegovina, has been shattered by the merciless onslaught of the Serbian forces that has unleashed a virtual reign of terror. Hence, determined action has become imperative to bring the carnage in Bosnia and Herzegovina to an end. The most urgent need is the cessation of fighting, the enforcement of the cease-fire and the protection of relief supplies.

The Security Council has already taken the first important steps towards the adoption of effective measures to stop the suffering of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The decision to enlarge the mandate and further to strengthen the United Nations Protection Force in Yugoslavia, the military protection of humanitarian aid convoys and the ban on military flights represents a modicum of progress, which should be seized upon to defuse the situation. However, the Council has an obligation to take further appropriate action, including enforcement measures, to end hostilities and to restore the territorial integrity and unity of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It should endorse the appeal made by Turkey to lift the arms embargo against Bosnia and Herzegovina and uphold its right to self-defence under the Charter. Furthermore, my delegation supports the Malaysian proposal for the immediate creation of safety zones to ensure the security of the Bosnian Muslim population. The Council should also entrust the Secretary-General with the necessary authority and support to move beyond a peace-keeping operation into an active peacemaking role. Concurrently, the Council should continue to exert efforts with the European Community in order to enlarge and consolidate support for the cause of Bosnia and Herzegovina, leading to the establishment of a multiethnic, multiracial and multireligious society in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(Mr. Wisnumurti, Indonesia)

My delegation commends the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General and such United Nations bodies as the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees and the Protection Force in Yugoslavia, as well as the European Community and its Monitoring Mission.

In conclusion, Indonesia recognizes the immutable principle of the inviolability of internationally recognized frontiers and will not recognize a situation created by a policy of fait accompli. The draft resolution before the Council is eloquent testimony to the members' deep concern regarding the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is our hope that it will be adopted by a consensus decision.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Indonesia for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Palestine. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. AL-KIDWA (Palestine) (interpretation from Arabic): Allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. I wish you every success in your work. I should also like to congratulate Ambassador Mérimée on his successful presidency of the Council last month. I should like also to thank all the members of the Council for giving us the opportunity to speak today.

I speak on behalf of Palestine and the Group of Arab States in the United Nations, in my capacity as Chairman of the Group for November. First of all, I should like to convey to the Council the deep concern within the Group over the very serious situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Our

(Mr. Al-Kidwa, Palestine)

concern reflects the prevalent feelings in the Arab world and the Muslim world in general. We are also deeply concerned about the situation prevailing in other areas of the former Yugoslavia.

The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in our view, requires that the Council, as the authority with the prime responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, should take practical, immediate steps to put an end to the human suffering and to ensure complete implementation of its resolutions in that regard with a view to restoring stability and peace and to ensuring coexistence and prosperity in Bosnia and Herzegovina and for its people.

(Mr. Al-Kidwa, Palestine)

The countries of the Arab group should like to reaffirm here their condemnation of all the human rights violations and breaches of international humanitarian law committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially the atrocious practice of "ethnic cleansing" and the massive concentration camps. These practices must cease. Their practical consequences must be reversed.

We also underscore the need for the international community to meet the humanitarian needs of the population by providing foodstuffs and medical supplies, as well as all other necessities, as a matter of urgency.

In this regard, we commend the efforts of many countries and international organizations, especially those by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the International Red Cross and many non-governmental organizations that have been providing humanitarian assistance. We should like also to pay tribute to the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and ask that it be reinforced, at least for the purpose of improving performance in the provision of humanitarian assistance. We also call upon all parties to cooperate fully with the Force in providing humanitarian assistance and mitigating the suffering of the population there. We believe that the proposal calling for the establishment of safety zones under the protection of United Nations military forces should be supported as a temporary measure.

The solution to this crisis, as in the case of other crises, may be, or - rather - should be, achieved through the straightforward implementation of the principles of the United Nations Charter, and strict adherence to the norms and rules of international law. Foremost among those norms, rules and principles is the upholding of the sovereignty and the preservation of the territorial integrity of States, non-recognition of the results of aggression,

(Mr. Al-Kidwa, Palestine)

the inadmissibility, in particular, of the acquisition of territory by force or by war. In addition, there is the need to ensure respect for the inalienable right of refugees to return to their homelands and to recover the properties they were forced to abandon.

In our view, the Security Council has already adopted the necessary resolutions based on the aforesaid principles. At the present time, what must be done, and what is much more important, is to ensure that the necessary political will exists to implement those resolutions through the available machinery within the context of international legality.

We wish to express our appreciation for the efforts made within the context of the international conference on the former Yugoslavia. We should like to pay particular tribute to the co-Chairmen of the conference, and to express our full support for the constitutional plan on the government and future authority of the Republic of Boznia and Herzegovina. We hope it will soon be implemented.

In that respect, we should like also to express our very deep admiration for the Secretary-General's valuable efforts, aimed at ensuring the success of the conference.

Other member countries of the Arab Group will speak in the Council and focus on certain aspects of the item under consideration which are of great importance to the Group.

Please allow me in conclusion to say that we must act together, promptly, to put an end to this tragedy. We must act together, urgently, to spare the world the daunting prospect of facing yet another chronic tragedy that may drag on and on for years.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Palestine for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Jordan. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. ABU ODEH (Jordan) (interpretation from Arabic): Allow me, Sir, to join those who preceded me in congratulating you upon your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I should also like to avail myself of the opportunity to pay tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Mérimée of France, for his efforts during his presidency of the Council last month.

At the outset, Sir, allow me to thank you for convening this meeting and organizing this general debate in response to the call of the Contact Group of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and in proper recognition on your part of the gravity of the situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The systematic and incessant aggression which the Belgrade Government continues to engage in against this newly independent Republic cannot be tolerated any longer, nor does it make it feasible for the Security Council to continue to deal with it as it has done so far. My delegation has no doubt whatsoever that the international community is fully aware now of what is going on, thanks to the reports being published from time to time and thanks to the mass media's daily reporting on what is taking place in this unfortunate and torn Republic.

I do not wish to narrate here the atrocities that continue to be perpetrated against the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, while international

(Mr. Abu Odeh, Jordan)

discourse is being garnished with slogans which speak of freedom, democracy and human rights. I shall confine myself to spotlighting a number of facts and conclusions:

First, my delegation, above all else, wishes to point out that while we participate in this general debate, we are not oblivious of the complexities of the situation in the Balkan region, nor of the time bombs buried in the soil of that region. Those time bombs have been brought nearer the surface by the disintegration of the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. My delegation is not oblivious either of the constraints under which the various parties, including the United Nations, operate.

Secondly, nevertheless, my delegation feels that the approach adopted by the United Nations so far in dealing with the flagrant aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina has proved to be unsuccessful. This has been demonstrated by the fact that 70 per cent of the territory of that State, which is the victim of aggression, is now in the hands of the Serbian aggressors, the number of refugees is ever-increasing, Serbian airplanes continue to bomb the villages and towns of Bosnia and Herzegovina, concentration camps continue to operate, "ethnic cleansing" is still being pursued, and nearly 400,000 citizens are on the verge of extinction because of hunger, illness and the onset of winter. The balance of power continues, with the passage of time, to tilt more and more in favour of the aggressor. Relief operations are still floundering and peace efforts have not yet yielded any results. Cease-fire agreements hardly come into effect before they collapse.

(Mr. Abu Odeh, Jordan)

In view of these realities, it was natural, at the level of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the one hand, and at the international level on the other, for dismay to replace hope. It is against this backdrop that this meeting is taking place.

Thirdly, we are facing a compounded aggression as well as a compounded tragedy. As for the aggression, what we are witnessing is the ugliest phenomenon that has accompanied the rise of nationalism in modern times, where the bigger and stronger State seeks to expand at the expense of its neighbours. The method used by the Belgrade Government until now is the ugliest the world has known since the Middle Ages. The annihilation of the adherents of another faith reminds us of the notorious inquisition. The term "ethnic cleansing" is only a euphemism that has been used to mask this medieval ugliness. We always thought that religious wars were buried with the Middle Ages and that all that remained of them were only sectarian disputes that flare up in certain States. The Belgrade Government, however, has not hesitated in word or in deed to resurrect this monster which was buried centuries ago.

(Mr. Abu Odeh, Jordan)

In this connection, the delegation of Jordan appreciates the stand taken by the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which has thus far refrained from regarding the war as anything other than a purely territorial conflict. Notwithstanding the increasing emotional pressures being brought to bear on them, the Governments of Islamic countries continue to deal with this tragedy in the spirit embodied in the United Nations Charter, in the hope that the situation will be rectified and the aggression halted in accordance with international law and the principles of the Charter.

As for the tragedy itself, it is also compounded. On the one hand there is the tangible human tragedy of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and, on the other hand, there is the tragedy of a State that, having raised the flag of independence and joined the United Nations, in the hope that the World Organization would ensure its security and protect it. It certainly had in mind the image of the effective United Nations of the Gulf crisis. In addition, there is the arms embargo imposed, equally on the aggressor, who is capable of self-armament, and on the powerless victim of aggression.

The past months have proved that what the United Nations has done so far has not stopped aggression. On the contrary, the aggression has escalated and has begun to achieve its aims on the ground.

Without a doubt, the efforts of the United Nations to provide humanitarian relief to the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina are worthy of gratitude and appreciation. However, confining the United Nations to this floundering effort while the victim's territory continues to shrink and its people continue to be decimated by murder and death by starvation, illness, flight and refugee hardship would mark the beginnings of a tragedy that may tarnish the image of the Organization itself.

(Mr. Abu Odeh, Jordan)

The people of Bosnia and Herzegovina need both a surgeon and a nurse, not only a nurse to keep the tubes connected to the patient's body to provide him with life-sustaining fluids until he passes away. This image of a United Nations marred by hesitation and wavering reminds us of the tragedy of Hamlet. No one among us - and especially the small States - wishes to see the United Nations acquire that image lest the situation become a model for new tragic situations in other parts of the world.

In the view of my delegation, we, as individual States and as united nations, have an obligation, on a humanitarian level, to provide relief to and save the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, just as we have the obligation on the political level, to halt the aggression and to establish peace between the two warring States.

In order to achieve this, my delegation believes that there are a number of actions the United Nations should take. In particular, it should, first, refuse to recognize the fait accompli that the Federal Government of Yugoslavia is trying to impose; secondly, it should put a halt forthwith to all acts of armed aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina; thirdly, it should not affirm non-recognition of the occupation of the territories of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Serbian forces; fourthly, it should emphasize that the refugees must be permitted to return to their towns and villages; fifthly, relief operations should be continued and expanded and, lastly, those responsible for ethnic cleansing should be put on trial.

Without these measures which would enhance the credibility of the United Nations, we fear that the situation may deteriorate further, to the extent that may make it necessary to invoke Article 42 of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. My country sincerely hopes that that will not be the case.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Jordan for his kind words addressed to me.

The last speaker on my list is the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. KHARRAZI (Islamic Republic of Iran): Allow me at the outset to express to you, Sir, my congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. I am confident that your diplomatic skills and leadership will guide the Council during its deliberations this month. I should also like to thank Ambassador Mérimée of France for his skilful leadership during his presidency last month.

Today the Security Council is considering an issue that has caused deep concern and sorrow to every human being, regardless of national origin, ethnic background, religion or political persuasion. Indeed, what is happening in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a clear example of foreign aggression against a Member of the United Nations. For over a year now, Muslims and other segments of that Republic's population have been subjected to a systematic campaign of genocide that has led to the massacre and homelessness of thousands of people.

During this period, and despite numerous Security Council resolutions calling for a cease-fire and an end to hostilities, the Belgrade authorities, in collaboration with their Serbian surrogates, have continued to intensify their war of aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Various United Nations documents and reports in the mass media have referred to the gross violations of the human rights of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, including indiscriminate attacks on and murder of civilians, the

(Mr. Kharrazi, Islamic Republic of Iran)

expulsion and deportation of civilians, the imprisonment and abuse of civilians in detention centres, the impeding of the delivery to the civilian population of urgently needed food and medical supplies and the wanton destruction of historical monuments, houses of worship and property. Furthermore, the Serb ultra-nationalists have carried out the abhorrent practice of "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a practice that not only constitutes an act of genocide under the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide but also has no precedent in contemporary history - save for the crimes committed by the Nazis during the Second World War.

During this crisis, which has seriously endangered international peace and security, the Security Council has adopted several resolutions that have invariably gone unheeded by the Serbs. I should also like to point out that the Council has not yet sent an appropriately decisive message to the Serbian aggressors.

In fact, when the General Assembly discussed the tragic situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina at its resumed forty-sixth session, in which a large number of Member States participated, it adopted resolution 46/242, which reaffirmed the inherent right of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to self-defence. The view that prevailed at the adoption of resolution 46/242, which represents the collective will of the majority of the membership of the United Nations, was that much more ought to be done by the Security Council to put an end to the grave violations of international humanitarian law.

(Mr. Kharrazi, Islamic Republic of Iran)

Regrettably, however, since the adoption of resolution 46/242 the Security Council has not been able to deal with this tragedy properly, effectively and expeditiously.

From the beginning of the crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina my country has welcomed all attempts to bring about a peaceful solution to that tragedy and to restore the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and unity of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In this context my delegation wishes to commend the activities of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia aimed at achieving a peaceful settlement in the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

(Mr. Kharrazi, Islamic Republic of Iran)

However, it is a fact that the international community has failed to act resolutely to implement and enforce the Security Council resolutions and the London Conference accords. Here I should like to refer to the letter dated 4 November 1992 from the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the President of the Security Council (S/24761), in which he referred to the failure of the international community's efforts to stop the aggression.

The London Conference heralded a commitment from the Serbians to stop "ethnic cleansing". However, "ethnic cleansing" has since been intensified. Five hundred and fifty thousand new Bosnians have been forced out of their homes. Furthermore tens of thousands have been murdered as part of the "ethnic cleansing" campaign.

The London Conference heralded the closing of all the Serbian concentration camps. The camps have remained untouched, and the prisoners suffer through continued starvation, exposure, disease, torture and systematic murder. Unfortunately, new civilian inmates are forcibly taken from their homes on a daily basis, and the population of the concentration camps is increasing.

The London Conference heralded a commitment by the Serbs and their supporters in Belgrade to stop all military flights over Bosnia and Herzegovina. Air attacks against the towns are continuing. Helicopters are more active than ever in conducting rocket and machine-gun attacks and supply missions, in violation of Security Council resolution 781 (1992).

The London Conference heralded an unconditional Serbian commitment to place heavy weapons under UNPROFOR control. The heavy weapons continue to pound the cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(Mr. Kharrazi, Islamic Republic of Iran)

The London Conference heralded a Serbian commitment not to use heating, electricity and food as weapons. The civilian population has suffered the extended disruption of heating gas, electricity and food caused by the deliberate Serbian shelling and blockade.

The London Conference heralded an intensified effort to deliver humanitarian aid and an agreement by Serbians to cooperate. Given the inadequate response of the international community with regard to the sending of troops to protect humanitarian convoys, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) estimates that 400,000 Bosnians will perish this winter because of hunger, disease and explosure.

By referring to the failure of the London Conference to stop the aggression, it is not the intention of my delegation to undermine the results of its ongoing efforts. However, the truth of the matter is that, despite all those efforts, the Serbs continue to kill, torture and grab more land.

The Serbian intransigence proves that as long as the Serbs and their supporters feel they have the military upper hand, they will not stop the aggression. The aggressor should realize that it cannot continue the crimes with impunity. That is why a great number of countries, including my own, have on different occasions called for the invoking of Article 42 of the Charter in order to reverse the aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We believe that the Serbian aggression has reached such catastrophic proportions that it is time for the Security Council to shoulder its responsiblilities under Article 42 of the Charter. We also believe that the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a Member of the United Nations, is

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entitled to exercise its inherent right of self-defence under Article 51 of the Charter. That is the least the Security Council can do in order to safeguard the sovereignty, erritorial integrity and independence of a Member of the United Nations. Therefore, as is reflected in the letter dated 19 October 1992 from the permanent representatives of the Contact Group of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) to the President of the Security Council, it is hoped that in order to put an end to this catastrophe the Council will lift the arms embargo against Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is the only effective means to stop the aggression, short of international military action.

The warning by the Office of the UNHCR on the possibility of another half a million people dying in the next few months must be taken very seriously. It has, I am sure, caused many sleepless nights not only for those officials who directly deal with the issue of Serbian aggression but also for other leaders and Governments that are thinking of ways and means of assisting the innocent and defenceless people in Bosnia and Herzegovina, including those in my country.

We feel a sense of frustration at standing on the sidelines and witnessing hundreds of thousands of innocent people either being butchered at the hands of the aggressors or perishing because of their actions. I may even say that we feel a sense of guilt and responsibility.

The people and Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran have mobilized their resources with a strong sense of responsiveness in order to be of assistance to the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In this respect, several airlifts and truck caravans of humanitarian relief supplies have been dispatched to Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, the needs are enormous. My

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Government will continue its efforts, and hopes to see the innocent people of that country survive the coming winter and live through next spring. Unless there is a strong and reinvigorated international campaign to provide adequate humanitarian assistance, those hopes will be dashed, and hundreds of thousands of other innocent people will perish.

Under these circumstances, who really should bear the responsibility for such a travesty of justice in Bosnia and Herzegovina? The Serbs, who are making a mockery of humanity and the collective security of the United Nations? The people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who are unable to defend themselves? The London Conference, for not succeeding as a regional organization? The Security Council, for moving slowly and cautiously and being unable to implement its decisions? The Member States, for lacking political will to put adequate resources at the Secretary-General's disposal to enable him rapidly to implement the Security Council resolutions?

I think there is enough blame to go around. But, again, pointing fingers does not send the necessary clear message to the aggressor. In our view, the Security Council should seriously consider the view of the international community that the aggressors should finally be made to understand that enough is enough, and it is ready to deal seriously with aggression.

The Security Council will preserve its credibility and accomplish this task by warning the aggressors, through a resolution, that it is ready to lift the arms embargo against Bosnia and Herzegovina if the aggressors fail to stop their crimes of genocide by a certain date. Such a resolution would convey the strong political will of the Security Council, on behalf of the international community, to deal with Serbian aggression. Some may argue that

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such a resolution may become a prelude to the actual lifting of the arms embargo against Bosnia and Herzegovina, which would lead to a short-term flare-up in the fighting, and that the United Nations in general, and the Security Council in particular, should have no part in this because of moral considerations.

(Mr. Kharrazi, Islamic Republic of Iran)

My delegation and a large number of other delegations disagree. If the United Nations system of collective security cannot be invoked to defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of a Member State, and above all to prevent the extermination of a nation, then in our view it is not only morally justified but incumbent upon the international conscience at least to untie the hands of the victims so that they can defend themselves. Therefore, the argument that the Security Council would soil its hands by lifting the arms embargo against Bosnia and Herzegovina does not hold water and should be viewed as an argument focusing on a nonexistent moral dilemma.

Let us assume, however, for the sake of argument that the United Nations faces a moral dilemma when it considers lifting the arms embargo against Bosnia and Herzegovina. Such circumstances are not unprecedented. History is replete with instances in which statesmen and decision-makers have been confronted by situations in which all options are wrong or evil, but in which one course of action would be right or justified, and thus have been compelled to soil their hands and choose the lesser of the two evils.

In one of his letters, Jean-Paul Sartre wrote:

> "How attached to your purity you are, my boy! How frightened you are of soiling your hands! All right, stay pure! Who does it help, and why did you come to us? Purity is an ideal for a fakir or a monk."

The Security Council is neither a fakir nor a monk. It would be fully justifiable - morally, politically and legally - for the Security Council to allow the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, whose very existence is at stake, to defend themselves.

(Mr. Kharrazi, Islamic Republic of Iran)

If the Security Council's threat to lift the arms embargo against Bosnia and Herzegovina does not bear fruit and the Serbs continue their aggression, the Security Council should be prepared to take further measures, including actually lifting the arms embargo against Bosnia and Herzegovina. Such a stand by the Security Council would in itself have a deterrent effect on the Serbian aggressors. Under such circumstances, while there might be a short-term increase in military casualties when the Serbian aggressors faced stronger resistance, there would be an immediate decrease in civilian casualties and a progressive decrease in the conflict as a whole.

Therefore, contrary to the arguments that lifting the arms embargo would increase the violence, the net effect would be a significant decrease in the extent of the violence. This would, in turn, encourage the Serbian authorities to turn to political negotiations instead of the battlefield, where they would face stronger resistance.

Lifting the arms embargo is meaningful only relative to Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the existence of a nation is at stake, and not to other States of the former Yugoslavia.

In the view of my delegation, draft resolution S/24808 falls short of properly addressing the grave situation and sends the wrong signal to the Serbs, a signal that they will perceive to mean that the Security Council has not yet mustered the necessary political will to resist their aggression and that they can continue the slaughter with impunity.

I appeal to the members of the Council to adopt a position that will enhance the authority and credibility of the United Nations and will not let the defenceless people of Bosnia and Herzegovina down.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran for the kind words he addressed to me.

I intend to adjourn the meeting now. With the concurrence of the members of the Council, the next meeting of the Security Council to continue consideration of the item on its agenda will take place at 3 p.m. today.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.